

Message Text

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16/44

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 OMB-01 ACDA-19 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 DRC-01 CCO-00 /145 W

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O R 291411Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 717

INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SANAA

USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 9634

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA ONE SUMMARY LN13 DELETE NOT)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS : PFOR, PBOR, IS

SUBJECT : BEGINNINGS OF POSSIBLE CHANGE IN ISRAELI
POLICY ON BOUNDARIES

BEIRUT POUCH BAGHDAD

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REF: TEL AVIV 9619

SUMMARY: NEW LABOR ALIGNMENT DOCUMENT (A) IMPLIES READINESS FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON TERRITORIAL ISSUE IN GENERAL, (B) AVOIDS CALLING FOR ISRAELI RETENTION OF ANY SPECIFIC PIECE OF TERRITORY OTHER THAN EAST JERUSALEM, (C) SUGGESTS THAT ONE WAY TO RESOLVE ISRAEL'S BLOCKADE PROBLEM IS THROUGH AGREEMENT ON SUBJECT WITH ARAB GOVERNMENTS, (D) SPECIFICALLY CALLS FOR PRESERVATION OF ISRAEL'S JEWISH CHARACTER (MEANING AVOIDANCE OF ACQUIRING ADDITIONAL ARAB CITIZENS THROUGH BORDER CHANGES), AND (E) SIDESTEPS QUESTION OF WHETHER GALILI PLAN FOR INCREASING NUMBER OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OVER NEXT FOUR YEARS IS STILL PART OF ELECTION PLATFORM OR NOT. DOCUMENT THUS MEANS ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN, BUT IT DOES INTRODUCE OPTION OF CONSIDERABLE FLEXIBILITY ON BOUNDARY ISSUES WHICH WAS NOT PRESENT IN PREVIOUS LABOR ALIGNMENT PLATFORMS. IN THIS RESPECT, IT IS CONSIDERABLE VICTORY FOR THE DOVES. END SUMMARY.

1. ALTHOUGH LABOR ALIGNMENT HAWKS UNDOUBTEDLY DISAGREE, ALL OUR SOURCES TELL US THAT DOCUMENT ADOPTED BY LEADERSHIP YESTERDAY (REFTEL) IS TO BE REGARDED AS SUPERCEDING ALL PREVIOUS LABOR ALIGNMENT DOCUMENTS AND POSITIONS. PRESS TODAY, INCLUDING COMMENTARIES BY HARDLINER JOURNALISTS, GENERALLY AGREES.

2. POTENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE FOURTEEN POINTS IS SEEN THROUGH COMPARISON OF TEXT WITH AUGUST 1973 GALILI PLAN AND 1969 ORAL TORAH (RIDER TO LABOR ALIGNMENT ELECTION PLATFORM OF THAT YEAR).

3. NATURE OF ISRAEL'S FUTURE BORDERS. FOURTEEN POINTS SPEAK OF "DEFENSIBLE BORDERS," WHEREAS ORAL TORAH REFERRED TO "SECURE BORDERS." MEDIA ASSERT THERE WAS HEATED ARGUMENT AMONG DRAFTERS OF FOURTEEN POINTS OVER THIS WORDING. PRESS IS TAKING USE OF TERM "DEFENSIBLE BORDERS" AS MEANING READINESS FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON TERRITORIAL ISSUE, AND WE BELIEVE LABOR ALIGNMENT AT LARGE WILL ALSO READ IT THIS WAY.

4. SPECIFIC TERRITORIAL ISSUES. FOURTEEN POINTS SPECIFY ONLY THAT (A) JERUSALEM MUST REMAIN UNITED AND (B) ISRAEL SHOULD

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NOT RETURN TO PRE-1967 LINES. IN CONTRAST, ORAL TORAH CALLED FOR PERMANENT RETENTION UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL OF SHARM EL-SHEIKH, LAND CORRIDOR TO IT, GOLAN HEIGHTS, GAZA STRIP, AND ALSO--IN FORM OF ISRAEL'S "DEFENSIVE BORDER" (ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY SOVEREIGN BORDER)--JORDAN RIVER VALLEY.

5. ENSURING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION. POINT 9 (B) OF NEW DOCUMENT CALLS FOR BORDERS THAT WILL ASSURE ISRAEL OF BEING ABLE

INTER ALIA TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST "PLOTS TO CUT OFF ITS COMMUNICATIONS." IMPLICATION IS: ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY OVER SHARM EL-SHEIKH. POINT 9(A) CALLS FOR PEACE AGREEMENT WITH ARABS WHICH WILL ASSURE INTER ALIA THE ELIMINATION OF "ALL SIGNS OF...BLOCKADE." IMPLICATION IS: SOLEMN EGYPT PLEDGE NOT TO BLOCKADE ISRAELI SHIPPING THROUGH BAB EL-MANDEB. THERE IS NO WAY OF KNOWING WHETHER DRAFTERS WERE THINKING CONSCIOUSLY IN TERMS OF THERE BEING THESE TWO DIFFERENT WAYS TO RESOLVE ISRAEL'S BLOCKADE PROBLEMS AT STRAITS OF TIRAN AND BAB EL-MANDEB. BUT ONE CAN READ DOCUMENT THAT WAY. IN CONTRAST, ORAL TORAH EXPLICITLY STATED THAT "FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION FROM EILAT SOUTHWARDS WILL BE ENSURED BY ISRAELI FORCES WHICH WILL CONTROL THE STRAITS" (PLUS A LAND CORRIDOR TO SHARM EL-SHEIKH).

6. JEWISH CHARACTER OF STATE OF ISRAEL. FOURTEEN POINTS CALL FOR "THE PRESERVATION OF THE JEWISH CHARACTER OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL". IN 1972-1973 LABOR PARTY DEBATES OVER DAYAN-SPONSORED PROPOSAL FOR HEIGHTENED TEMPO OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES, THIS PHRASE BECAME SLOGAN OF DAYAN'S OPPONENTS. ORAL TORAH AS WELL AS POSITION OF 1969 LABOR ALIGNMENT PLATFORM CONCERNING OCCUPIED TERRITORIES SAID NOTHING ABOUT THIS DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTION. INCLUSION OF PHRASE IN NEW DOCUMENT IS CLEARLY A NOD TO THOSE WHO OPPOSE ACQUISITION BY ISRAEL OF HEAVILY POPULATED PARTS OF TERRITORIES, SUCH AS GAZA STRIP AND IMPORTANT SEGMENTS OF WEST BANK.

7. JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. NEW DOCUMENT SAYS THAT IN ABSENCE OF PEACE AGREEMENT WITH ARAB STATES, "ACTION WILL BE TAKEN TO CONTINUE AND CONSOLIDATE PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY SETTLEMENTS." IT DOES NOT SPECIFY THAT REFERENCE IS MADE HERE TO SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AS OPPOSED TO SETTLEMENTS IN NEGEV--AND IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT ONE-SIXTH OF SETTLEMENTS CALLED FOR UNDER GALILI PLAN WERE TO BE IN NEGEV; BUT THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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PORBABLY IS NOT SIGNIFICANT. HEBREW-LANGUAGE PASSAGE ABOUT ACTION "TO CONTINUE" SETTLEMENTS IS NOT CLEAR AS TO WHETHER CONTINUATION OF EXISTING SETTLEMENTS OR ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW ONES IS MEANT, BUT PRESUMABLY IT IS THE LATTER. THUS, IMPLEMENTATION OF GALILI PLAN FOR NEW SETTLEMENTS IN SPECIFIC PARTS OF ALL THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS NOT RULED OUT BY NEW DOCUMENT. BUT COMMENTATORS ARE VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS IN TAKING VAGUENESS OF NEW WORDING AS SUGGESTIN GALILI PLAN IS IN TROUBLE.

8. COMMENT: SINCE DOCUMENT IS COMPROMISE, ITS PARTS DEALING WITH TERRITORIAL ISSUES ARE PURPOSELY VAGUE AND CAN BE READ TO SUIT EACH READERS TASTE. NEVERTHELESS, DOCUMENT CREATES OPTIONS FOR MINIMAL TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION BY ISRAEL UNDER FINAL SETTLEMENT WITH NEIGHBORING STATES, AND THESE OPTIONS WERE NOT APPARENT IN PRE-EXISTING LABOR ALIGNMENT POSITIONS. ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN NEW DOCUMENT WILL BE VIEWED AS SUPERCEDING ALL PREVIOUS

ALIGNMENT POSITIONS, AND ANSWER WILL HAVE TO AWAIT COMMENTS ON
THIS ISSUE BY LEADERSHIP IN NEXT FEW DAYS, ALL SIGNS AS OF NOW
SUGGEST THAT THIS WILL BE THE INTERPRETATION.
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